1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SHS Tehuelche 585

Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:173) reported that the *Aleuukaf* traded pieces of iron pyrites, used for striking fire, to the *Tehuelche*.

SOCIAL LIFE

Marriage and the family.—Direct information is available only for the later *Tehuelche*; our chief information on the domestic culture of the later *Tehuelche* comes from Sánchez Labrador, Viedma, Fitz-Roy, Musters, and Spegazzini.

Premarital chastity was seemingly rather strictly observed by girls. They were free to choose their husbands. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:180) reported that sometimes girls were betrothed while very young [child betrothal?]. Boys married around the age of 20; girls from 15 to 18 or so. The groom gave presents to the bride's father or parents; these presents were in some measure at least a bride-price; the father or parents of the bride also gave presents of equal value, which in case of later separation were the property of the bride (Musters, 1871, pp. 177–178; 1873, p. 201). The girl was brought by her father or the groom to the latter's toldo, where a wedding feast was given, including mares' meat. It was unlucky for any of the offal or meat of the mares to be eaten by the dogs. The shaman sang and gave advice at weddings. Residence was generally patrilocal. According to Viedma (1837 b, p. 74), a "cacique" always married the daughter or sister of another cacique.

Marriage was mostly monogamous. Some men, however, had two wives; rarely three in the later 19th century, but earlier some had "four, five, or even more" (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2:180), and even five to eight (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 73). No polyandry is reported (however, see Pepi, p. 180); nor is either the sororate or levirate.

Wives were generally well-treated as well as loved. Wife beating was very rare. Adultery was not uncommon; in case of unfaithfulness on the part of a wife, her paramour suffered the penalty, not she (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 74). Divorce was uncommon, being usually sought by the wife. A man was not allowed to look toward his father-in-law when in conversation with him (Musters, 1871, p. 184). The aged were respected and well cared for.

Etiquette.—Proper names were not mentioned (Bourne, 1883, p. 180). Hospitality was the rule, to traveling strangers as well as to friends. Certain formalities were observed when two parties approached and came together, including answers to the host's questions before delivering a message (Musters, 1871, pp. 184–186). The relative absence of formalities on entering a tent (Moreno, 1879, p. 186) contrasted with *Araucanian* etiquette in this regard.

Cleanliness of body was considered desirable, and bathing in the river was common; there was also a certain ideal of toilet cleanliness;

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

The child, shortly after birth, is smeared over with damp gypsum. The mothers are able to travel on horseback the same or certainly the subsequent day, with the infant carried in a wicker cradle, and most tenderly cared for by both parents.

To every child in its infancy horses and gear are allotted, which are considered thenceforth as the personal property of the boy or girl, and cannot be resumed or disposed of by the parents. No ceremonial attends the naming a child, nor, as far as I could see, is there any fixed time for doing so. The names most commonly used are taken, I think, from places—from the place of birth. Patronymics or hereditary names—except in rare instances, which appeared to be imitations of Spanish usage—are unknown, but nicknames are universal, and parents are frequently known by the name of a child, which usurps the place of their own.

The boys soon learn the use of the weapons, and both boys and girls ride almost before they can walk: the sons rarely accompany the father to the chase before ten or twelve years of age, and do not join in fights till they are about sixteen years old, but there is no fixed period and no ceremonial to mark their admission to the state of manhood. The attainment of puberty by the girls is celebrated as described in page 80. From the age of nine or ten they are accustomed to help in household duties and manufactures, and about sixteen are eligible for the married life, though they often remain for several years spinsters. Marriages are always those of inclination, and if the damsel does not like the suitor for her hand, her parents never force her to comply with their wishes, although the match may be an advantageous one.

The usual custom is for the bridegroom, after he has secured the consent of his damsel, to send either a brother or an intimate friend to the parents, offering so many mares, horses, or silver ornaments for the bride. If the parents consider the match desirable, as soon after as circumstances will permit, the bridegroom, dressed in his best, and mounted

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

on his best horse, decorated with silver ornaments—if he possesses any—proceeds to the toldo of his intended, and hands over the gifts. The parents of the bride then return gifts of an equal value, which, however, in the event of a separation (a rare event), become the property of the bride. After this the bride is escorted by the bridegroom to his toldo, amidst the cheers of his friends and the singing of the women. Mares are usually then slaughtered and eaten on the spot, great care being taken that the dogs do not touch any of the meat or offal, as it is considered unlucky. The head, backbone, tail, together with the heart and liver, are taken up to the top of a neighbouring hill, as an offering to the Gualichu, or evil spirit. An Indian is allowed to have as many wives as he can support, but it is rare to find a man with more than two, and they generally only have one.

On the death of a Tehuelche all his horses, dogs, and other animals are killed, his ponchos, ornaments, bolas, and all other personal belongings are placed in a heap and burned, the widow and other womankind keeping up a dismal wailing, and crying out loud in the most melancholy manner. The meat of the horses is distributed amongst the relations on both sides; and the widow, who cuts her hair short in front and assumes black paint, repairs, bag and baggage, to the toldo of her relations, or if she has none in the party, to the toldo of the chief.

The body is sewn up in a mantle, poncho, or coat of mail, if the deceased possessed one, and is taken away by some of the relations and buried in a sitting posture, its face to the east, a cairn of stones being erected over the place, varying in size according to the wealth and influence of the deceased. I have never seen any of the graves described in Mr. Wood's work, but as my travels as a rule were confined to the interior, they may exist in some part of the sea-coast; nor did the exhumation and removal of the body ever come under my notice, and I should be inclined to doubt its being ever practised by the Tehuelches, inasmuch as it is a rule amongst

3: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1872
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

these necklaces, and adorn their knife sheaths, belts, and horse gear with silver studs or plate, and such as can afford it indulge in silver spurs and stirrups. The women furthermore lengthen their hair artificially, adorning the long tails with blue beads and silver pendants, but this only happens on state occasions. Both sexes smear their faces and occasionally their limbs with paint. This paint is composed of either red ochre or a black earth mixed with grease, obtained by boiling out the marrow-bones of the game killed in the chase; they also tattoo on the forearm by the simple process of puncturing the skin with a bodkin, and inserting a mixture of blue earth with a piece of dry grass.

On state occasions, such as a feast on the birth of a child, the men further adorn themselves with white paint—a powdered gypsum, which they moisten and rub on their hands, and thus make five white finger-marks over their chests, arms, legs, etc. Nearly every morning the men have their hair brushed out with a rude description of brush, by their wives, or if unmarried, their sisters or female friends, who take great care to burn any hair that may be brushed out, as they fully believe that spells may be worked by evil intentioned persons who can obtain a piece of their hair or nails. After the hair-brushing is finished, the women adorn the men's faces with paint; if in mourning they put on black paint, and if going to fight, sometimes put a little white paint under the eyes, which assists, in contrast to the other, in giving a savage expression. The women paint each other's faces, or if they possess a small piece of looking-glass, paint their own. The women on the eve of their wedding-night cover their bodies all over with white paint, and a child on its birth is also similarly whitened.

The tents or toldos of these people, called by themselves "kou", much resemble those of our gipsies, though they are much larger, loftier, and of a squarer form. It is simply and speedily constructed. A row of forked posts, about three feet high, are driven into the ground, and a ridge pole laid across in front of these, at a distance of about six feet; a second row five feet high with a ridge pole; and at the same distance a third row, six feet high, are fixed. A covering, made from forty to fifty full-grown guanaco skins sewn together, and smeared with a mixture of grease and red ochre, is drawn over from the rear, and secured by thongs to the front poles. Hide curtains fastened between the inner poles partition off the sleeping places, and the baggage, piled round the sides, excludes the cold blast.

The duty of pitching and striking the toldos, as well as of loading the hides and poles on the horses, devolves on the women, who show great strength and dexterity in the work. The furniture of the toldo consists of a few hides, bolsters formed

3: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1872
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

The same ceremonial is observed on the attainment of puberty by a girl. The important event is announced by her father to the cacique, who thereupon notifies it to the doctor. The girl herself is placed in the "pretty-house", and no one allowed to enter it. Marriages amongst the Tehuelches are always those of inclination, and if the damsel does not like the suitor to her hand, her parents never force her to comply with their wishes, although the match may be an advantageous one. The usual custom is for the bridegroom, after he has secured the consent of his damsel, to send either a brother or some intimate friend to the parents, offering so many mares, horses, or silver ornaments for the bride. If the parents consider the match desirable, as soon after as circumstances will permit; the bridegroom, dressed in his best, and mounted on his best horse, proceeds to the toldo of his intended, and hands over the gifts; the parents then return gifts of equivalent value, which, however, in the event of a separation, are the property of the bride. After this the bride is escorted by the bridegroom to his toldo, amongst the cheers of his friends, and the singing of the women. Mares are generally then slaughtered, and a feast takes place. The animals being killed, cooked, and eaten on the spot, great care being taken that the dogs do not touch any of the meat or offal, as it is considered unlucky. The head, backbone, and tail, together with the heart and liver, are taken up to the top of a neighbouring hill, as an offering to the "Gualychu", or evil spirit. An Indian is allowed to have as many wives as he can support. However, it is rare to find a man with more than two, and they more generally only have one.

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A curious custom prevails amongst these Indians with regard to their children. If a child hurts itself while playing, mares are slaughtered as a sort of thanksoffering that it did not die, a pretty

[Lia as for a western child. — Analyst]

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
SH5 Tehuelche SH5

one also had to support the squaw till her suitor proved himself worthy, and acquired sufficient wealth to justify taking her to his wigwam; and, if he cared much for his enjoy, he would not be long in earning her; it would make him a first-rate thief, — the most indispensable title to favor in the tribe. It appeared that the possession of two horses, one for himself and one for his intended, was regarded as the proper outfit in a matrimonial adventure.

The women are somewhat given to quarrelling among themselves; and, when their "combativeness" is once active, they fight like tigers. Jealousy is a frequent occasion. If a squaw suspects her liege lord of undue familiarity with a rival, she darts upon the fair enchantress with the fury of a wild beast: then ensues such a pounding, scratching and hair-pulling, as beggars description. The coy deceiver, if taken by surprise, slips quietly out, and stands at a safe distance to watch the progress of the combat, generally chuckling at the fun with great complacency. A crowd gathers round to cheer on the rivals; and the rickety wigwam, under the effect of the squall within, creaks and shivers like a ship in the wind's eye.

While the contract of marriage is so jealously regarded by the chief as to be subject to a veto in every case where a proposed match appears in his eyes unsuitable, the ceremony is literally nothing at all. Due sanction having been given by the supreme authority, the bridegroom takes home his bride for better or worse, without any of the finicrity which graces similar occasions elsewhere. About this time, — for, as I had no means of journalising my experience, or even keeping the reckoning of weeks and months, it is quite impossible to assign dates, — a mat-

The marriage ceremony, once the woman's price has been fixed 585
and paid, is limited to the father's taking her to the groom's tent, unless she herself goes off to the groom unattended, a thing which is not at all reprehensible. The groom then has a mare or two slaughtered, according to his means, and invites the bride's and his own male and female relatives and friends to eat the meat which, once done, the marriage ceremony is over.

Both the men and the women are very loving and devoted to their 594
children, whom, as soon as they are born, they bind about with many soft and pliable leather bands which they have in readiness. The babies are bound for over a month to a board made of many small sticks which are tied together and covered with hide. The Indians say that they grow up [597] straight in this way, and the fact is that both the men and the women are 598
all very straight and well built, and none are ever seen whose shoulders are hunched. Once the babies are taken out of their bindings the mothers usually carry them about with them on their backs, the baby's head issuing from the same opening in the garment as the mother's. When on the march they make a sort of cradle out of hide and sticks, rounded over and sealed on all sides except for openings for the head and feet, which they line and embellish with flannel, cloth or anything they may have, and ornament with beads, bells, etc., as they may be able to, and they secure them on the horse's rump behind the mother. Children are never seen to weep amongst these people, unless they receive a blow or fall.

Their religion is limited to a sort of belief in two powers, one 776
benign, which has jurisdiction only over the heavens and is independent 778
from and without power on the earth and its inhabitants, of whom they [779]
take little notice; the other power is both benign and supe, and governs the earth, directing, chastening and rewarding its inhabitants. This power they worship in any guise in which they may represent it, or in the shape of some object found on the beach washed up from a shipwreck, such as masts from a ship's prow or fashion pieces from the stern, these being the preferred representations for their worship since they suppose them to have appeared by enchantment. This deity is called the Canalequa, which can be rendered as "powerful and valiant" [91]. Each person who has one of the figures dedicated to and believes that his is the true deity and those belonging to other Indians are false ones, yet disputes never flare up or get out of hand because they feel that the deity will itself bring down vengeance upon those who offend it. They believe that sickness and death are the [783]
god's retribution, unless they occur in old age, in which case they are 24
entitled to natural causes. These images are kept in the tents, completely wrapped up in skins, woolen cloth, flannel or linen, so each is [784]